1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

When these two emphases upon the kinship system are recognized, it becomes evident why there is a lack of terms describing those individuals appearing above and below ego's generation but not in the direct line. In the direct line we do have such terms as grandfather, grandson, etc., but the others do not figure. They are not named except descriptively, and even then usually only in reference to the generation which they occupy. Thus father's father's brother is called "my grandfather's brother." The term granduncle exists, but it has not found its way into the countryman's vocabulary.

Similarly, though uncle, aunt, nephew, and niece have become fully acclimated to Ireland, there is still a marked preference for descriptive terms. The son of a cousin is described in such terms, and the immediate progenitors of the cousin are thought of in terms of their place in the precedent generation. They are thus "my father's friends," though they are, of course, within ego's kinship group. In this way, two distantly removed cousins can often establish a relationship and adopt the requisite behavior to one another through establishing a more immediate connection in a parental generation.

The bounds of the consanguine group are naturally not rigid in this type of extensional structure. There is a gradation of intensity in the taboo as it extends towards the peripheral relatives. First and second cousins, to use the more convenient English terms, are tabooed, the first more strongly than the second. Third cousins, felt to be "very far out" and sometimes "not counted" by the Irish, are nevertheless formally tabooed by the Church. Yet dispensations can be obtained with relative ease for kindred of this degree. They are granted for all alliances within the system for "cause" inward even as far as first cousins and uncles and nieces, but

a different word, *dearbhráthair*, or "true-brother," is reserved for one's father's son.

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

612 never within the restricted family.[5] When the dispensation
582 of the Church is obtained, there is no feeling of horror at
588 such marriages. They are, however, always felt to be anomalous and are a matter of comment. In the country areas where there is a necessity among the farmers of keeping farms and dowries within the extended family group, or where the introduction of an outsider is difficult because of class and regional antagonisms, marriages between first and second cousins are not uncommon. Nevertheless the general feeling of the community condemns this type of union. Too close intermarriage of this type is a common charge used by townsmen in condemning the country folk. The authors unfortunately had little chance of observing such alliances in their rural setting.

582 At marriage the individual acquires a new group of kin-
612 dred. This group is also within the marriage prohibition and the "call"; they are "friends." In the formal or ideal
602 arrangement all those related to one's wife become related to oneself in the same degree. This is the view taken by the Catholic Church. A marriage, the doctrine goes, unites husband and wife as "one flesh." "Affinity from a true marriage is a diriment impediment to the fourth degree of consanguinity of the deceased spouse."[6] A widower "may not marry any of his deceased wife's blood relatives as far as the fourth degree of consanguinity."[7]

612 In other words, the union of man and woman brings a
835 union of the two extended families from the point of view of the marrying individuals. In the eyes of the Church, the
602 husband stands in the same relation to a wife's relatives as does the wife herself, and vice versa. So strong is this provision in the eyes of the Church that sexual intercourse with any of the wife's kin creates a barrier to the exercise of conjugal rights over the wife. A dispensation as well as

[5] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, article, "Consanguinity."
[6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.*

10: Browne D-5 (1893) 1894
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
Inishbofin

(x.) *Health.*—Taken as a whole, the people may be said to be a 164 healthy one. Serious diseases, apart from accidents incident to their callings, are but few in number; and the general physique of the people speaks to a healthy active life.

Consanguineous Unions.—A large proportion of the marriages come 582 under this heading, including not only those of persons within the 588 prohibited degrees, for which dispensations are obtained, but also those which take place between people who are related in some recognisable but hardly nameable degree. Cases of the first class, or those which require dispensations, are of frequent occurrence, but seldom or never take place between persons nearer of kin than third cousins. The other cases, of course, are the most common of all, as from the size of the population and its isolated position, every family must, after a few generations, become more or less related to every other. Marriages with strangers, though more numerous of late years, are not common. The uniformity of strain does not appear to have produced any effect except the great similarity of appearance already noticed (p. 322); no cases of malformation or congenital disease are ascribed to it.

Diseases.—For most of the following facts I am indebted to the 164 kindness of Dr. P. J. Hart, the medical officer of the islands, who, besides affording me much valuable information relative to the people and their ailments, the result of his long experience of them, kindly allowed me to look over his notes of cases. The main diseases may be classed as follows:—

Insanity.—There is at present no case of this among the natives of [158] the islands, nor has there been one since 1888 when a case which, however, was not of long duration, occurred in Inishshark.

Idiocy and Imbecility.—Properly speaking there is no idiocy; but 164 there are two cases in which the persons, though shrewd and sharp 732 enough about most of their own affairs, yet show signs of mental want in a sufficient degree to amount to slight imbecility.

Epilepsy is not common, but two cases are known in one of which the patient is subject to delusions, and always states, after a fit, that he has been with the fairies on the mainland. Of the other no information could be obtained except that the patient had had "fits."

Deaf-mutism has not been known for years on either island, but a case of temporary dumbness occurred on Inishshark in 1892.

Blindness is equally rare, there being but one case, a man over sixty years of age who acquired it late in life.

11: Browne D-5 (1894) 1895
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
Kilmore

(D.) *Health.*—It was found to be a difficult matter to obtain reliable information on this point, but there seems to be, on the whole, but little serious disease, and the people appear to be strong and healthy. The affections suffered from are mainly due to the nature of their food and occupations, and the unwholesome state of their dwellings. 164

Consanguineous Marriages.—The intermarriage of relations seems to be very common, not only on the islands, but also on the mainland, where it is most common in small fishing hamlets difficult of access, such as Fallmore, Tip, and Portacloy. While visiting Inishkea inquiries were made as to these unions, and several of the inhabitants assured me that intermarriage between the people of the North and South Islands was not common, it being a far more usual thing for the islanders to marry people from the opposite shore of the Mullet; thus, the South Island people seem to intermarry a good deal with the inhabitants of Fallmore, a very primitive village at the extreme end of the peninsula, which has only being provided with a road, such as it is, since 1881. On both islands, however, the majority of the marriages seem to take place between members of the community. 582

It does not seem as if it were usual for first cousins to marry, but matches between relatives of all degrees farther out seem to be of very common occurrence.

Through the kindness of the Rev. H. Hewson, P.P. of Belmullet, I am enabled to give actual figures, as he has kept the record of dispensations for these marriages since 1875; from that date until August, 1894, there were in the Parish of Kilmore, which contains about 700 families, altogether 276 marriages, and of these 61 or 22·1 per cent. obtained dispensations, as the parties were relatives. In the Parish of Belmullet, number of families 460, there were in the same period 247 with 26 consanguineous (or 10·5 per cent.) and Kilcommon, with about 620 families, had 276 marriages, for 72 of which, or 26·1 per cent., dispensations were granted. The average in the whole three parishes was thus 19·5 per cent. To these may be added some 10 or 12 more cases of marriages of first cousins dispensed by the bishop of the diocese. There does not seem to be any marked result from this long continued close intermarriage, except the very marked local types observable in the more isolated places, which seem to have been fixed or preserved by this cause. This is especially the case in the islands whose inhabitants, while bearing a general resemblance to each other, differ much in appearance from their neighbours of the mainland. 582 588